# FEEDBACK

## May Day Events




RECAPTURE MAYDAY!
100th anniversary of Haymarket martyrs.
Speakers from Direct Action Movement, Laing Lock-out Committee, NUM, plus others at a public meeting on Saturday April 26th at 2.00pm
*Venue: (next column)*

*Hackney Labour & Trade Club*
*96 Dalston Lane E.8.*

DAY ON ANARCHISM

Venue: *Bolton Socialist Club, 16 Wood Street, off Bradshawgate, Bolton, Lancs.*

Starts at 11am. Saturday May 3rd. 1986. To commemorate the Centenary of the origin of May Day, the Haymarket Martyrs also the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution.

There will be workshops on:
*1) Libertarian Education.*
*2) Unemployment.*
*3) Spain and anarcho-syndicalism.*
*4) Anarcho-feminism.*
*5) Anti-racism and anti-fascism.*
*6) Ecology and animal liberation.*
*7) Building an effective anarchist movement in the '80's.*

PLUS: * Anarchist Bookstall
* Videos * Food * Creche

AND: Evening Social with local bands.

MAYDAY PICNIC – BIRMINGHAM

A Midlands-based group has invited old, young, employed and otherwise to a May 5th (the Monday bank holiday) picnic in Birmingham. PipPipPop is a music/art/political mag that has been going in Birmingham for about a year and are at:
*PipPipPop, P.O. Box 778, Moseley, Birmingham B13 9A7*

## Book Review

**BENITO MUSSOLINI: The Rise and Fall of Il Duce. by Christopher Hibbert. £4.95 Penguin Books.**

The most widely known fact about fascist Italy under Mussolini is probably that the regime succeeded in getting the trains to run on time. While I am prepared to acknowledge that this is quite an achievement on railway systems as complicated as those of the 1920's, the fact has predisposed me to regard late running trains as a fair price to pay for a non-totalitarian system of government.

Benito Mussolini established fascism in Italy and developed it as a politico social system based on his personal authority. He ran the government as a dictator but was seen by the Italian people as apart from its corruptions. He kept his leading government Ministers in constant movement from job to job and took care to get rid of any who seemed to be developing enough prestige to challenge his leadership. He combined a highly authoritarian style of government with policies which he maintained were of benefit to the people. Regardless of the truth or otherwise of this claim it did enable him to maintain a higher level of popular support than is generally regarded as due to a dictator. He also succeeded in ruling Italy for over 20 years, though by the mid 30's his international standing was lessened by the comparison with Hitler. And his fall was brought about only through defeat in War. He had been a vassal of Hitler and Italy a client State of Germany at least since 1938. This was largely because Hitler was infinitely more sure-footed than Mussolini in the diplomatic field. Mussolini was never able to leave his prejudices behind when carrying out international negotiations.

So as one considers Mussolini as a political figure one perceives characteristics that seem somehow familiar. An authoritarian style of leadership. A habit of ditching colleagues who appear to be gaining too much influence and political status. Frequent Cabinet changes. A much higher level of public support than might be considered appropriate for one doing such damage to a country's traditional freedoms. And a foreign policy based on prejudiced views of other international figures. I fear it starts to sound rather familiar and close to home. And the slight consolation I drew from this biography is that dictatorial politicians of this sort seem unlikely to last much more than 20 years in office.

It does seem to me that Christopher Hibbert's biography of Mussolini lacks balance. Far too little of the book deals with the years in power, and there is no consideration of the particular mechanisms of power which characterised Mussolini's fascist state. There is also no discussion of the repercussions and impacts of fascism on Italian society. While these topics may be regarded as not strictly within the scope of a biography I feel they would have illuminated the reader's understanding of the achievement of Mussolini.

By contrast the fall and eventual capture of Il Duce are dealt with in extensive, and some may feel excessive, detail. It may be that Christopher Hibbert has made this emphasis to show up the contrast between the supreme power Mussolini enjoyed during the early years of his regime and the degradation he suffered on his fall. But having read and enjoyed other books by Mr Hibbert I would regard this as a faintly banal purpose for a book of his. Consequently I would have to conclude that this is a barely adequate biography and a disappointing book.

*Peter Miller.*

BIRMINGHAM
March Against Police Repression
April 19th 1986

Meet at Chamberlain Square, Next to Central Library at 12.00pm.
'When combined with the current paramilitary tactics of the Police to break up demonstrations, the new powers will mean *an end to the freedom to protest.*'
'To make our voices heard depends on you, *the individual. Act now before it's too late. Demonstrate and make your voice heard.*
'Oppose the Public Order Bill NOW'.

PISSING ON PEARCE

More on the treatment of Joe Pearce while he was in Wormwood Scrubs Prison. Just before he arrived one of the screws tipped off a black prisoner. This particular screw was against Pearce, the other screws didn't like him because he'd cause trouble. The black prisoner was told Pearce would be on his landing for one day only and so there would only be one opportunity to get him. After the attack Pearce was moved to a special landing for 'nonceys' prisoners who were not segregated but who were liable to arouse antagonism from other prisoners. Afterwards Pearce still suffered 'special treatment': e.g. his coffee/tea was spiked with piss, food brought to him was cold, the tray on which his food was brought was often red hot and unable to be held. Also Pearce had to avoid the bath house as much as possible as he heard that 'a certain anarchist and a certain communist' were out to do him in.

*Ex-Con*

AREN'T THE POLICE WONDERFUL!

Policeman Robert Gardner was recently convicted of theft by a Nottingham Crown Court. Gardner originally denied stealing a wallet containing £50 that was handed to him as lost property.

Notting Hill police recently claimed that a man who was treated in hospital for multiple bruises on his back, arms and legs after a period in police custody deliberately threw himself head first on the floor of their police station.

After taking the oath in St. Albans Crown Court, policeman Graham Bell asked if he could consult his pocket notebook to give his evidence against the defendant. However, when the defence barrister asked to see the officer's notebook it was discovered that there was no information about the case in it. The case was halted and the defendant, accused by police of stealing £200 worth of property, was acquitted.

Record damages of £200,000 are understood to have been paid to a man who lost his eye when a London policeman punched him in the face in Islington police station. PC Brian Renton was jailed for two years for assaulting Barry Carlhell, who is now only partially sighted in his left eye.

A London couple have been told by Scotland Yard that no disciplinary action will be taken against police officers after a night in which they were stripped, repeatedly beaten and insulted at a police station. Mr and Mrs Gibb had committed no offence when they were grabbed by police officers in Leicester Square, taken to a police van, beaten, held at Bow Street Station, beaten again, insulted and denied access to a lawyer.




MART IS FREE

Mart is free. I am back in A'dam now.
See you there Jaffa.
Mart Gerritson, a Dutch activist and squatter served six months in Camp Hill Prison on the Isle of Wight (see *Black Flag No. 148*).

FASCISTS BURNT-OUT

In Leerdam, 25 miles east of Rotterdam, 72 people were arrested as anti-fascists prevented the Centre Party (in reality right-wing) from meeting by burning down the hotel which hosted them.

## ANARCHISTS AND ANTI-FASCIST ACTION

The following is a brief account of what we, as a group, thought of the Anti-Fascist Action (AFA) national conference held on Saturday 22nd February at Manchester Poly.

Although the conference got off to a late start, the first section (before the lunch break) was conducted in a warm and comradely manner. Speakers emphasised that now is the time to build a united, non-sectarian anti-fascist organisation, a sentiment applauded by all groups present. This was in sharp contract to the mad chaos that followed the break.

The topic for discussion was the suspension of 'Class War's' application for affiliation to AFA. This was considered by several groups, including the Direct Action Movement, Red Action, Socialist Federation and Manchester and Liverpool Anarchist Groups to be undemocratic and based on unsubstantiated allegations.

At the conference, Class War circulated a detailed leaflet which outlined and answered all the allegations made by *Searchlight* and others, however various speakers chose to ignore these explanations and continued to bleat out the allegations again and again. Class War's speakers thus had to waste valuable conference time refuting, yet again, these allegations.

The conference then descended to the level of a mad farce. As Class War had predicted, even more allegations were brought against them which were even more ridiculous than the first set and seemed to be nothing more than crude attempts at emotional blackmail.

At this point, the attacks were not simply confined to Class War, but mushroomed out into a general attack on anarchism. It seemed that certain elements were orchestrating a slanderous anti-anarchist campaign based on the principle that 'if you sling enough mud, some of it will stick'. Anarchists were called 'the third ground' by the main speaker, a term he earlier used for fascists in his key-note speach. Links were alleged between 'Anarchy' magazine and the Libertarian Alliance, a far-right Tory grouping (*see article on Libertarian Alliance in this issue*) These were strenuously denied by a DAM member on the Anarchy Collective. One woman member of the Secretariat accused anarchists of being fascists, and after someone shouted out in protest, she amended this to 'or at least controlled by them'. It was also said that because Class War criticised CND and the ANC then they must be fascists, which is absolutely ridiculous.

When a DAM speaker was critical of *Searchlight* on the grounds that it is well known that they have connections with Special Branch and MI5 (see *New Statesman, Destabilising the Decent People* 15th February 1980), three speakers got up and said that *Searchlight* are 'Gospel' and could never be in the wrong. The clear implication is this was that anyone who criticised *Searchlight* must be fascist. In fact, we were accused of being fascist agents trying to disrupt the conference.

After a vote, it was decided to extend the discussion by a further 10 minutes; this time to be taken up by two pro- and 2 anti- Class War speakers. Due to the appallingly bad chairing, 3 were allowed to speak against Class War while only 1 was allowed in their favour, despite the fact that many comrades had been patiently waiting, with their arms raised in the air, to have their voices heard.

After the debate had officially closed, anti- Class War speakers rushed to the microphone and madly shouted a series of anti-anarchist abuses. When a black member of Class War tried to answer these, the microphone was switched off on him. In this tense atmosphere, the vote on Class War's suspension was taken, which not surprisingly went against them.

In protest at the disgusting way in which it was handled, certain groups (DAM, Class War, Manchester and Liverpool Anarchist Groups, and Red Action) walked out of the conference. These groups later held an informal meeting in which they re-affirmed their commitment to anti-fascist activities, but not within the organisational framework of AFA. Much still needs to be worked out.

*Manchester DAM*


No.153

# BLACK FLAG

30p

THE ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

14-4-86





# HOSPITALS OR PRISONS

For centuries this country has used, what can only be described as brutalising incarceration to 'control', thousands of people, regarded by those in power as 'troublesome' and 'discontented'. There are at the very least 110,000 people who are being subject to physical and psychological torture in what are referred to as to physical and psychology-referred to as hospitals all over this country.

Children showing outbursts of energy or carrying out sexual exploration, domestic, social and political dissedents, physically disabled people, elderly are amongst those who end up being taken away, locked up and tortured at the behest of 'doctors' and those who call themselves social workers.

During the 19th century for the mass of the poor people who had been squeezed dry by exploiters the choice was as follows:— the Workhouse, prison or chained to the walls of a 'lunatic asylum'. 'For us in a later age it is easy to be horrified at the heartlessness and stupidity of our ancestors'. Nesta Roberts 1967.

Since the last century things have gotten worse for people who are unfortunate enough to be confined in these 'hospitals'. It was during the 1930s, when methods of torture such as ECT, electro-convulsant therapy, insulin induced comas and prefrontal leucotomy became mandatory for many 'patients'.

From 1964 the use and abuse of drugs such as chlorpromazine, sodium amytal and largyctal has proceeded without let-up. Physical attacks by 'nurses', strip cells, straight jackets and total isolation can be added to the above and the truth about what really goes on in these hospitals would only be half said...

MENTAL HEALTH ACT 1983

When the above was put together, those who where responsible certainly did not have the interests of the people who would be affected by it, nor their families and friends in mind. Its main function is to control and detain people with scant regards for basic human rights in a country which claims to be free and democratic. It isn't even an intelligent piece of work on the contrary it is an overworded piece of legal jargon full of ambiguities and grave contradictions.

MENTAL HEALTH ACT COMMISSION

This body claims to be 'independent' and to have the interests of the 'patients' at heart, but in fact it is northing of the sort. In fact they encourage the management of the hospitals such as Park Lane and Moss Side the two 'special hospitals' in Merseyside to censor reading materials which the hospital prisoners request.

HUMAN RIGHTS DENIED

Because of the cloak of secrecy about hospital prisons and the methods used to put many thousands of children, teenagers and adults in you could be forgiven for thinking you are reading about what is going on in another country or even another planet but you are not.

The hypocritical mouthings from the government and the media about 'psychiatric prisons' in Russia is only a smoke screen to cover up what is happening in this country at this moment against political dissidents and social activists.

On this issue no one can afford to stand on the side-lines, it is up to you to do something to insure human rights are for all people.
*SOLACE, 82 Lark Lane, Aigburth, Liverpool, 17*

# POLICE SHOOT 18 YEAR OLD ANARCHIST

**On Monday March 31st police raided the home of Anarchist Nikos Kokalis (18 years old) and shot him through the back in front of his companion.**

Miraculously, the police bullet went straight through his body, out his shoulder.

Thus Nikos Kokalis survived. Anarchist Mikalis Kaltezas (15 years old) wasn't so lucky. He was shot in the back of the head by police during street-fighting in Exarchia Square, Athens between police and Anarchists in November last year.



The death of Mikalis Kaltezas at the hands of the police sparked off major riots in Athens.

The attempted assassination of Nikos Kokalis has resulted in petrol-bomb attacks on a bank in central Athens and on the Socialist Party headquarters.

52 Anarchists were arrested following these attacks on April 1st 1986, but all were released the next day due to a complete lack of evidence against them. Also set free was the cop who shot Kokalis. He claims he thought Kokalis was a drug addict and shot him to prevent his escape after they raided the house. It's unlikely any charges will be brought against the police, and complaints, as in Britain, are dealt with by the State itself.

It's now evident that the police in Athens have been told they can murder Anarchists and leftists without fear of prosecution. It will only be a matter of time until the next Anarchist is assassinated by the police... In these circumstances any forms of self-defence are justifiable. We will never give way to State terrorism. Any increase in State repression will only fuel Anarchist rebellion.

# NO TRIAL BY MEDIA

**London Weekend Television was finally able to show its 30min programme on April 4th, about the murder of John Mikkleson, aged 34, by the Metropolitan police.**

The show was banned until after the Inquest on Metropolitan Police request. In the show the police version of events was reconstructed first. Then friends and witnesses described how he was truncheoned about the head by Police Constable Richard Peacock until unconscious.

Clearly he needed medical treatment, but was instead forced to travel in a police transit van, amongst the seats, to Hounslow Police Station where he lay on the floor drowning in his own vomit. The relatives of the others arrested could not persuade the cops to get a doctor or ambulance and it was 30 minutes before a woman police sergeant saw it was an emergency. It was too late, he could not be helped.

The jury at the Inquest into the murder, returned an historic verdict which led to the suspension of the cops involved. They are still not charged with murder or manslaughter though merely complicity in 'accidental death'. The Windsor chapter of the Hells Angels motorcyclists, of which John Mikkleson was the only black member, received a verbal apology from the local Police chief.

The supposedly 'stolen car' which the cops stopped turned out to not be stolen, and the other occupants have had charges of obstruction and assault (on unmarked police) dropped.

BLACK FLAG – BLACK CROSS
BM HURRICANE, LONDON
WC1N 3XX
Published, typeset and layout
BLACK FLAG COLLECTIVE
Printed by Aldgate Press
SUBSCRIPTION RATES
12 months: £12 inland
£15 surface, £19 Air.
6 months: £6.50 inland
£8 surface, £10 Air.
PRISONERS: Free on request.
GIRO ACCOUNT No. BLACK FLAG
58 552 4009
GIRO ACCOUNT No. ANARCHIST
BLACK CROSS: 51 172 0009.

***For the release of all political prisoners, the relief of class war victims and the overthrow of tyranny everywhere. Smash the State! Anarchy is freedom.***

### NEPOTISM AT WORK

Murdoch's daughter, Prue has been given a job at *Elle Magazine*, his new glossy venture with the French firm Hachette.

Her job? After wedding merchant-banker Cripsen Odey, is 'Public Relations' (er, well yes actually he is *my* father).

### SUPPORT THE PRINTWORKERS

Every week in London, Greenpeace meets at *6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.2* After the meeting at 9pm a group leaves to go up to Wapping to show solidarity with the printworkers. All welcome.

# HOME NEWS

### QUESTION & ANSWER ON ANARCHISM

*Q: If an anarchist society is a welfare society, how can it guard against parasitism?*

A: An anarchist society is *not* a 'welfare society'. The idea behind welfare is essentially a Liberal one, assuming the better-off look after those not so well off. Like charity, it is an authoritarian virtue – preferable to the authoritarian vice of leaving them to their fate – just as 'toleration' is an authoritarian virtue, preferable to the authoritarian vice of intolerance. Authoritarianism assumes rulers and ruled thus States may be 'welfare' states or uncaring states.

In a communistic society 'each receives according to their needs' and nobody, even if old, disabled, invalid, is excluded from the benefits of society. Under State communism there is a problem of whether to allow the feckless, the lazy and even the merely improvident to enjoy the benefits of society conducted for the common good, but generally speaking no State will tolerate a rival parasite to itself. In an anarchist society it is purely optional on people whether they want parasites or not – some 'add to the gaiety of nations' – and it may be that a free society will gladly see them failing to find work without finding it necessary to let them starve. (It depends, perhaps, on the question of scarcity or otherwise).

### MIDLANDS ANARCHIST NETWORK FORMED

A Midlands Anarchist Network is being formed after the conference in Nottingham in March. Groups already involved are Bradford, Birmingham, Chesterfield, Coventry, Leamington, Lincoln, Nottingham, Sheffield, Sheffield Blackberry, Leeds, Huddersfield, Black Country @s, Stafford, Warwick and others.

The network exists for spreading information and initiatives, skill sharing, organising and mutual support between groups and individuals in the region. It will also enable us to meet up and organise, both politically and socially, which only happens rarely at the moment.

Quarterly 'delegate' meetings will be held, after which a newsheet will be produced and distributed to those on the contact list. The first of these will be in Leamington on May 24th.

Each Winter there will be a conference and each Summer a 'camp', the first to be held in Sheffield at the end of August.

Anyone who is wishing to be involved should send a Stamped Self-Addressed Envelope and a donation (unless it's for a prisoner) to receive the newssheet quarterly. The first is already out and is available from:
*Box A. Mushroom Bookshop,*
*10 Heathcoat Street, Nottingham.*

### SMASH SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESS ACTION GROUP

On the night of March 26th, the day that saw some of the worst State-violence spread across South Africa, two Barclays Banks were attacked in North London. At one Wood Green branch human waste was left with a communique that read:

*Your account up to 26th March was considerably overdrawn In the past 24 hours you have overdrawn on at least another 20 innocent lives in South Africa! The time has come to close your account.*

At another branch, also in Wood Green two large windows were smashed and a communique left reading:

*Today you helped kill another 20 – our action continues until the eagle has flown.*
*Smash South African Business Action Group.*






KM, March 27, 1986 3

## Pickets try to stop papers

PICKETS laid seige to a newspaper distribution depot in Snodland early yesterday in an effort to stop Rupert Murdoch's blacked titles getting out.

About 75 pickets turned up at 3am outside TNT's Depot.

Their action aimed to prevent distribution of The Sun and The Times which are at the centre of the print dispute at Wapping. Where more than 5,000 people have been sacked.

Shortly after the pickets arrived, Police from many parts of Kent were sent to counter the demonstration.

A police spokesman said there were no arrests and no violence on the picket line.

The protestors called off the picket at about 5.30am and it is believed that distribution of the two papers was delayed for 90 minutes.

A TNT spokesman refused to comment on the incident.

The company is being used by Mr Murdoch's News International group to distribute the papers because the normal system — operated by members of the print union Sogat '82 — has been disrupted by strike action.

## Swoop nets 27 at firm

TWENTY-SEVEN people have been arrested at a Warwickshire firm in a joint swoop by security staff and police.

The operation centres on TNT, the haulage and distribution firm based at Holly Lane, Atherstone.

Most of those arrested worked in the loading and unloading bay at the firm.

## IN BRIEF

### Hot news

NEWS-HUNGRY thieves walked off with a batch of Sunday papers from outside a Hoxton newsagent's in the early hours of Sunday morning. They took 100 copies of the News of the World, 29 Todays and five copies of The Sunday Times.

## News vans destroyed

17/3/86

TWO vans used for deliveries from Rupert Murdoch's News International's Wapping print plant were destroyed in an arson attack at Brentwood, Essex, last night.

The vans were parked inside the depot of the company which carries out the deliveries, TNT Road Freight, at West Horndon Industrial Estate. Police found inflammable liquid had been tipped inside both vehicles and set alight.

# A DIARY FROM WAPPING

**65th DAY OF PICKET**

Rain and cold did not deter 3,000 pickets in a jointly sponsored Sogat/NGA march from Tower Hill to Wapping. There were AEUW and NUJ strikers, a contingent from the London Press Branch EEPTU and many fine youthful supporters who have been won to the cause of the striking workers (despite what some may think about trade unionism). Many of these people remained late into the night, long after the hordes of paper-sellers with their hypocritical advice had gone.

The evening march proceeded along the Highway to Virginia Street, where once again a good number of picket gathered. This was broken up by some stewards.

Several hundred pickets stayed at Virginia St and Thomas More, plus the same number went out to Glamis Road. Smaller numbers were at Cannon St Road and King David, and about 1000 roving.

As the clocks were turned forward during the night, it was after two when the bustle of police made it clear the strikebreakers were moving into action to do their filthy task. At 2.40am twenty-two lorries left through Virginia, left on the Highway and up Dock Street.

By this time there were perhaps a thousand pickets left strung out in different spots.

Police strikebreakers prepared for the scab run by putting a line of horses into The Highway just east of Virginia Street. Pickets moved to Dock Street. Two arrests were made during the move, and forty of the bosses' thugs swarmed in to prevent the crowd freeing the pickets, one of them screaming for her life.

Ten mounted strikebreakers, and more on foot, moved in to form a barrier just east of Thomas More and pickets at Dock Street were cut off. Despite an open exist through John Fisher Street no one left. The strikebreakers in uniform complete with horses and more riot squads (some quite young) formed a path from Virginia Street to Dock Street. The convoy left to shouts from the sixty or so pickets penned in at Dock Street. Another group of pickets were at the top of Dock Street. Riot squads cleared a way with truncheons.

Divide and rule is the way of the bourgeoisie and its slimey lackeys. While workers fight each other for jobs the profiteers slash pay and conditions.

– Last week flying pickets unannounced in Kent. Strikebreakers were caught by surprise It took then some time for a swarm of police protection to be brought in. Meanwhile the scab lorries could not get into the depot till late.

– Tuesday morning an anti-scab rally was held in Gray's Inn Road. A few hundred pickets organised by the clericals, gathered. The chanting in unison is one effective way of getting the message across. One picket summed up sentiments well by hollering at a crawler: 'You're no good!'

– Pickets at Wapping were given a treat again Tuesday night by SOGAT drivers going by in a long convoy.

– Thursday night, the splendid vanworkers outdid themselves by holding a party at the Wapping picket line. A tent was set up with food and drink. Over two hundred regulars interspersed shouting at scabs with a spot of relaxation. Complete with a music truck set up in a park beside Wellclose the night was a welcome change. The party afforded a good chance to pause and think.

The line of the pickets is clear, this strike goes on.

– Saturday 5th April 8pm the Campaign Against Police Repression (an ad hoc committee which has organised two previous marches against the Police Bill) organised a march on Wapping from Tower Hill at 8pm as no union march was announced.

– Tuesday 8th, 8am, a picket at Bouverie Street, organised by clericals.

– Wednesday 9th, 9pm, a march from Tower Hill, organised by warehouse.

ROUND 3

The generals are looking in the wrong direction to bring this dispute to a win. Picketing is the key. The day scabs have been having an easy time of it. That is a weak link.

The generals are worn out, not the strikers. Throughout the trade job cuts are being implemented. Despite that, there is still broad support for the strike. But it does not come automatically. Industrial support in concert with the NI and Record strikers depends on what the pickets do.

The TUC march on Sunday 6th April is sabotage to wear down the ranks with a long march. Picketing will continue. For weeks the TUC 5 have tried to restart folders in Gray's Inn Road. It is time for the pickets to think and plan the next move. By acting as a body the regular pickets cna bring out reinforcements. Organisation, no matter how rudimentary, is the key. Otherwise individuals are picked off.

### LETTER FROM A YORKSHIRE MINER

*'The struggle that the printworkers and the residents of Wapping are now involved in is not a lonely or pointless one. Curtains of 'them' verses 'us' must be pushed back if the common people are to retain or expand their standard of living in the increasing times of pressure from the ruling class. People like Murdoch (and I use the term 'people' very loosely) are nothing compared to the will and wishes of the residents of Wapping and the printers. I urge you to continue in your long struggle and don't think you are alone, even though the media choose not to tell the people of this country the truth about you. The majority of us know the truth and do support you to the full. The scabs at the moment have the money and their police friends. But that is nothing compared to the esteem in which you are held in the eyes of the real people. If scabbing is the price to pay for such luxuries then my money is on you good people. SCABS WILL NOT RULE OK.'*

*Fred (Armthorpe)*

Picket note: Armthorpe was the last Yorkshire pit to be forced back to work. This marvellous village held out in the hopes of stopping the return to work. Armthorpe returned on the Friday as a number of pits, one by one, went back after the general return on the Tuesday.

**The above is extracted from Picket No 5 Thursday 3 April 1986. Picket is written, printed and paid for by machine sections members of the strikers. The previous four issues are also worth checking out, and we recommend people contact them:**
*PICKET,*
*c/o 628 Tottenham High Road,*
*London N17.*



# INTERNATIONAL

## LETTER FROM GREECE

*Dear Comrades,*

George Shultz, the US Government's Secretary of State arrived in Athens in late March. This provoked some action. Earlier, on March 19, 1986 the ELA (Revolutionary Popular Struggle) put two bombs against the building of the Hellenic American Union. One of the bombs went off and caused some damage to the garage entrance. The other was disarmed after it was found by the cops. On March 23rd another bomb went off and destroyed a statue of former US President Truman in central Athens avenue. The 'Christos Kassimis Revolutionary Group' claimed responsibility for this. (Christos Kassimis, a member of an armed guerilla group was killed by the police in 1976, during an attack against the West German AEG in Athens, in solidarity with the 'suicided' members of the Red Army Fraction in West Germany).

Anarchists called for and were active in protests against Shultz's visit, considering it a threat to world peace and knowing he comes to Greece to exercise pressure on the Greek Socialist Government in order to make them accept nuclear weapons in Greece.

Well, that's all for now,
Love and @narchy, *B.K. (Athens)*

## LETTER FROM FRANCE

*Dear Comrades.*

The Miners Support Group in Paris organised a trip to London for the March 2nd demonstration commemorating the 1984-'85 strike and calling for release of jailed miners and reinstatement for victimised miners.

Our collective has been constituted at the initiative of union militants who had been involved in rank and file actions to support the miners during the strike. Different initiatives had been taken at that time by local union branches, associations or individuals to organise meetings, trips of miners throughout France, inviting families or groups of children.

After the strike the media in France completely stopped mentioning the situation in Great Britain and never said any thing about the victimised miners and their families. The workers in France lack the most elementary information on this question.

For some time we have been trying to reorganise the support to the victimised miners on a better coordinated basis. Our action is now getting more favourably greeted by the French workers. We want to show that the miners strike had an international, or at least European stake and that Thatchers' political an economic programme could constitute a model for the different governments in Europe.

During the general election in France some candidates openly claim the same policies Margaret Thatcher enforced in Britain. This has contributed in making the French workers more aware of the situation of the British miners today.

However, the support of victimised miners is not our only objective. Repression against workers, against union militants attacks against the most elementary rights are becoming common in France also. Progressively we are coming to a situation close to the British workers, even under a 'socialist' government. We want to tell the French workers that was has happened to their British comrades may also happen to them some day. Recently a worker of a Dunlop factory gave an interview to the communist paper ***L'Humanité***, about his life in the factory, his working conditions etc., and was sacked soon after!

Since I am a printworker I went to the Wapping picket line during my stay in London. I participated in the demonstration that went there from Tower Hill and stayed a while on the picket. One thing surprised me quite a lot, as well as on the miners' demonstration the following day: the astonishing number of leftist militants selling their newspapers. They were literally swarming over the place. It seemed at first a bit indecent to me because there were much more of them than was really necessary if they only wanted to (try and) sell their papers. I'm sure if they all got together they could have made by themselves quite a decent demonstration. These people seem to be unable to support a struggle without trying to recuperate/coopt it. Not that trying to gain new militants is blameable, but their way seems a bit childish.

There is in the miners support group in Paris a certain number of anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist militants, but we do not try to 'sell our soup' and I think the best way to destroy the Collective would be for us and other groups to try and make it ideologically situated.

Most of the members of the collective are not members of an organisation, although they are union militants and I think this is very positive.

Thanks for your hospitality in London.
*R. (Paris)*

### THE FRENCH FAR RIGHT: In the Courts and on the Streets.

**Borrowing a page from the antics of the Militant tendency in Britain, the extreme right Front National has acquired the habit of taking its detractors to court: resulting in FN charges being thrown out with monotonous regularity.**

For example, the FN has come up the loser in its squabble over the use of party insignia with the FON (Front d'Opposition National), an FN splinter group whose major complaint seems to be not having received enough slots as FN candidates. Calling the FN 'a sect', Hugues d'Alauzier, a FON representative, says that his gang presently claims 'three thousand, five hundred members in forty ridings'.

pulled up and individuals in paramilitary uniforms poured out yelling: 'You have something against these posters?' The posters were scattered and the posterers beaten up and Philippe Brocard received a number of stab wounds and died two hours later.

Regis Devaux, an FN member who is presently in the army has been charged with Brocard's murder and three of Devaux's friends have been taken into custody. Admitting that Devaux 'was in possession of a Front National membership card and is therefore a member of the Front National,' Le Pen is also claiming that he was 'not a militant' of the organisation. Earlier this year FN members on a train were involved in the murder of an Arab youth; and two FN members blew themselves up in a car while preparing a bomb in a carpark.

## LATE NEWS

### PICKET LAINGS LONDON BRIDGE

The John Laings Lock-out Committee demand the withdrawal of the High Court Injunctions taken out against them, and threats of jail, by Laings, the multi-national construction firm. They want re-instatement for the whole bricklaying gang at Surbiton, south west London, who were locked out of their jobs last October. All rank and file trade unionists are called on to picket Laings, London Bridge (opposite London Bridge Rail and Tube Stations) from 7.00am onwards on 14th April. Solidarity action is planned at other Laings sites around the country. More information, donations and messages of support to: *P.O. Box 551, London SE5 8JJ. Lock out committee Ph: 278 4444 ext.2556.*

SUBSCRIBE TO BLACK FLAG TODAY!

## THE CNT AND NATO




**As everyone knows, there's just been a referendum in Spain over membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.**

Out of interest, something that many people abroad don't know is that, like most State referendums, it was a real Hobson's choice. Either Spain could stay in NATO, or, if it voted not, the Spanish government would make its own, more expensive, independent arrangement with the Americans.

Gonzalez, the Spanish President, made this clear from the start, no doubt consciously appealing to a nation where the majority are very much into counting the pennies (the more I live here the more I find a kind of British-style 'realism' in all sectors: a wish to conform successfully to the current economic system). The CNT-AIT (the free labour movement of Spain) of course, boycotted the event, as ever with their principles in mind.

The press secretary of the regional committee of the CNT-AIT had published in *El Periodico*, Catalonia's most popular daily newspaper:

*'Regarding the coming Spanish NATO referendum, the CNT is calling to Spanish people in General, and to Spanish workers in particular, to abstain and not participate. Our position is in accord with guidelines adopted by our organisation and its ideology.*

*The abstentionist position is due to the fact that the CNT, anarchosyndicalism, and the Libertarian movement believe in direct action, which means we believe that conflicts between workers and employers should take place face to face, without intermediaries, because this is the only way to get over the contradictions and obstacles which the workers movement finds with the ruling class. When we say intermediaries we include political parties, MP's, elections, referendums, and the State in general.*

*Given that we start from the premise that these intermediaries always work to the benefit of the employers, we believe that they also lead to the political institutionalisation of a set-up in which one class dominates the other; to participate in their systems is, for us, to reinforce them, and so to support something which we are against.*

*And so it would be absurd for us – given the agreements made organically by our organisation – to take part in any kind of election. . . To take part in bourgeois systems is to be bourgeois. To collaborate with the political systems used by the employers to consolidate their power is to collaborate with those same employers. Anarcho-syndicalists don't collaborate with employers.*

*This is why we are asking people to abstain from the NATO referendum, just as we ask them to abstain from any legislative, municipal or autonomous election; such elections have no place in our systems. And when we talk about abstention we don't mean simply that you don't vote; we say the referendum has to be boycotted actively, like any other election.*

*Apart, worth saying that we think this referendum shows perfectly the kind of mask that power uses to continue its exploitation and domination.*

*Of course some people will say that the position of the CNT over the referendum coincides with that of the right wing (NB the conservative leader Fraga recommended abstention as an anti-Socialist gesture). Whoever says that has got it wrong. Wrong because our reasons are completely different from those of this so-called right wing. And wrong because for us* Alianca Popular *(NB Manual Fraga's party) isn't the right wing. For us, the right wing, the bosses and capitalism consist of all those who accept capitalist systems. That is to say, of all those who accept the 'rules' of the parliamentary democratic game. That's why we aren't taking part.'*

And the result? 40% abstained, 60% voted. Of those who voted, 52.57 voted YES, 39.79 voted NO and the rest voted 'white' or a decided don't know, in other words (an option in all Spanish elections). In Catalonia and Euskadi the majority voted NO but in other regions of Spain the result, evidently, was YES. From my point of view, a depressing situation.
*M.T. (Barcelona)*

## LETTER FROM AMERICA

Dear Black Flag,

Thank you for the support for Leonard Peltier. I thought I would write you about some of the things going out with us. Since Bayou La Rose/Survival Network moved to Kansas City from New Orleans, we have been involved in many things which are now heating up. First, with Leonard Peltier, we believe that the decision on a new trial will be coming next month. We have a support house here in Kansas City, which has four offices which the International Office of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee just moved into. Our group, the Leonard Peltier Support Group /Big Mountain Support Group, is organised into Seven Councils. Nine of us are also members of the General Defense Committee of the IWW. (I have been the Secretary of the GDC-IWW for the last 3 years). One of the councils has taken on the job of organising prison and survival advocacy and is organising through the Survival Network. Bayou La Rose is also being aided by members of this group. The most important work we are doing at this time is organising resistance to the planned military intervention at Big Mountain. Three of us have been asked by the Elders Council to organise for a region in the Big Mountain area.

A number of the people who are helping us organise are GDC-IWW members and anarchists. We have organised monthly food/supplies runs, work crews and we are organising affinity groups for the resistance. We ask for your help. In three months we maybe up against the US military. We need international protest so that the US military cannot move in without people knowing about it. July 8th is the deadline, so on the 8th of every month there is international protest. Please help if you can. Thank you.
In solidarity,
GDC-IWW
*P.O. Box 6130,*
*Kansas City, Ks 66106 USA*

# DIRECT ACTION IN INDUSTRY

## INTRODUCTION

**With the present Conservative government bent on curbing trade union power, strike action is becoming more difficult. Already secondary picketing is illegal and what the future laws and regulations will do to restrict workers power remains to be seen. What is certain though is that living standards are dropping and that striking is a luxury few of us can afford. One thing that is not dropping is the harassment by bosses and bad working conditions are still around. To improve your working conditions you do not immediately have to resort to strike action. There are ways to achieve what you want quite simply and effectively by taking 'direct action on the job', which also has the advantage of not losing your wages while airing your grievances!**

**Here we list several of these direct action methods. To make the most of these methods you need good job organisation and a general consensus among the workers that there is something to take action about. Even then, it could be possible that the chosen method does not work. In that case a prolonged strike may be the only answer, with mass pickets in solidarity etc.**

**In compiling these handy hints use was made of the Solidarity pamphlet 'Strategy for Industrial Struggle' and the Industrial Workers of the World's 'Workers Guide to Direct Action.'**

## WORK TO RULE

If managers' orders were completely obeyed, confusion would result and production and morale would be lowered. In order to achieve the goals of the organisation the workers must often violate orders, resort to their own techniques of doing things, and disregard lines of authority. Without this kind of systematic sabotage much work could not be done. This unsolicited sabotage in the form of disobedience and subterfuge is especially necessary to enable large bureaucracies to function effectively."
(Social Psychology of Industry by J.A.C. Brown)

Every industry is covered by a mass of rules, regulations and agreed working practices, many of them archaic. If applied strictly they would make production difficult if not impossible. It is often forgotten that many of these rules were introduced to safeguard management's liability in the event of industrial accidents. Managements are quite prepared to close their eyes when these rules are broken in the interest of management to keep production going. In many situations the selective application of rules can be a very potent weapon in the workers hands. Even the modest overtime ban can be effective, if used critically. This is particularly so in industries which have an uneven work pattern.

How work to rule tactics have been applied in the past to various industries, and can be applied nowadays is shown in the examples below:

### ANTWERP DOCKS 1965

'Every conceivable safety precaution is being applied; some of them dating back well into the last century and made obsolete by port improvements. Locks have never been filled so slowly. It is many years since the levels were so minutely checked with a plumbline, or swingbridges so carefully examined lest a belated reveller be sleeping off a hangover on the turntable beneath. Lock-keepers too have unsuspected responsibilities when it comes to identifying ships and their masters or making sure that all the fire regulations are observed. Tugs are hedged in with speed and movement regulations. Priority for entry is still being given to oil tankers, despite the fact that the Antwerp refineries have adequate stocks of crude oil.'
(Daily Telegraph, January 8, 1965)

### FRENCH RAILWAYWORKERS

'When under nationalisation, French strikes were forbidden; their syndicalist fellow-workers were delighted to urge the railworkers to carry out the strict letter of the law. . . . One French law tells the engine driver to make sure of the safety of any bridge over which the train has to pass. If after personal examination, they are still doubtful, then they must consult the other members of the traincrew. Of course trains run late! Another law for which French railworkers developed a sudden passion related to the ticket collectors. All tickets had to be carefully examined on both sides. The law said nothing about city rush hours!'
(What's Wrong With the Unions by Tom Brown)

There have been many successful work to rules in Britain too. Here is an account of a struggle by a group of toolmakers after their wage demand was turned down.

'The workers immediately held a shop meeting and decided to 'withdraw goodwill' and lock up tools. (Most skilled toolmakers are expected to supply their own tools. Those provided by the company are usually inadequate both in quantity and quality).

We then witnessed the spectacle of toolmakers queuing up to use the firm's limited stock of micrometers. We saw jobs 5/16 in dimension being tested for squareness with a 2 foot square; others a few inches long being checked with a 6 foot rule, job after job being impossible to assemble because the company's angle plates were out of square. These and countless other happenings drastically curtailed the ouput of jigs and fixtures, which in turn meant huge pile-ups of work waiting for tools in the production shops. The workers achieved their demands!'

The Post Office with its byzantine system of rules and practices and reliance on massive overtime working is an example where optimum conditions for working to rule seem to exist.

### POSTAL WORKERS' WORK TO RULE

'The work to rule began at midnight January 1st 1962. On January 4th Mr Bevins, Postmaster General, stated that 'for the time being the Post Office cannot accept any large postings of circular and advertising matter at printed paper and reduced rates. . .' On January 6th, Mr Cyril Hears, Controller at the Mount Pleasant Sorting Station Stated: 'Normally at this time we have 600,000 items here. Now, after staying all night at the office, there are nearly 3,000,000. We are losing leeway at the rate of 750,000 a day'. (Evening Standard, Jan. 6th, 1962) 'By January 8th, mail due for sorting was being directed as far as Edinburgh, Portsmouth, Cardiff and Peterborough. This diversion of mail for purpose of sorting created problems of its own. A union spokesman claimed that 350 bags of correspondence for Essex, diverted from Mount Pleasant to Peterborough, had been relabelled and sent back to Mount Pleasant because the Peterborough office was full! On receipt at Mt Pleasant, the postal authorities had instructed members of the UPW immediately to send the 350 bags back to Peterborough. (Evening News, Jan 10th, 1962). The bureaucracy was now in firm and exclusive charge!



## GO SLOW

The distinction between work to rule and slowdown (or go-slow) is an arbitrary and often mythical one. A work to rule is usually highly selective on its application of rules and is rarely accompanied by normal working in areas where rules do not apply.

An interesting struggle took place in the PTA shop at Ford (Dagenham) in 1962: "The company cited as a typical instance of restriction of effort the case of the headliners whose job it is to fit the interior rooflining in a vehicle. It had been calculated that with reasonable effort a headlining in a small car could be fitted in 22 minutes, which meant that in a normal 8-hour shift at least 20 could be fitted by each employee in a section. The company stated that the headliners had repeatedly refused to fit more than 13 heads in any one shift, saying that the management's request was unreasonable. And yet, the company's statement continued 'they had in fact fitted each headlining in less time than allowed, and spent the reminder of the time between jobs sitting down. Any attempts by supervision to improve the situation had resulted in a 'go-slow' by these men.

They took so long over each car that they prevented other employees on the line from performing their operations thus causing congestion and frequently leading to the lines being stopped and sometimes other employees being sent home. This also took place when the headliners were suffering from any type of grievance, real or imaginery. On one occasion the company had no choice but to send other employees home at 3.30am as a result of this type of action. . . Shop stewards however, supported by the convenior, had always maintained on these occasions that the employees concerned were working normally and refused completely, in spite of numerous appeals, to persuade their members to remove restrictions.'

This heartrendering 'cri de coeur' by the Ford Motor Company was published in the report of the Jack Court of Enquiry (CMDE 1999, April 1963 MHSO, p.57). It is a pity that this great tradition of 'working normally' is not as strong at Fords as it used to be. But matters are beginning to improve.

The 'go-slow' has a long and honourable history:

### GLASGOW DOCKERS

'In 1889 the organised dockers of Glasgow demanded a 10% increase of wages, but were met with the refusal of the employers. Strike breakers were brought in from among the agricultural labourers and the dockers had to acknowledge defeat and return to work at the old wage scale. But before the men resumed their work, their secretary of the union delivered to them the following address:

'You are going back to work at the old wage. The employers have repeated time and again that they were delighted with the work of the agricultural labourers who had taken our places for several weeks during the strike. But we have seen them at work; we have seen that they could not even walk a vessel, that they dropped half the merchandise they carried, in short that two of them could hardly do the work of one of us. Nevertheless, the employers have declared themselves enchanted by the work of these fellows; well then, there is nothing left for us to do the same and to practice ca'canny. Work as the agricultural labourers worked. Only they often fell into the water; it is useless for you to do the same.'

'This order was obeyed to the letter. After a few days the contractors sent for the general secretary of the dockers and begged him to tell the dockers to work as before and that they were ready to grant the ten percent increase.' (Sabotage: Its History, Philosophy and Function by Walker C. Smith).

## GOOD WORK

One of the serious problems facing militants in general and workers in the service industries in particular is that they can end up hurting the consumers (mostly fellow workers) more than the boss. This isolates them from the general mass of the population, which enables the authorities to whip up 'public opinion' against the strikers. One way round this problem is to consider techniques which selectively hurt the boss without affecting other workers — or better still are to the advantage of the public.

The 'good work' strike is a general term which means that workers provide consumers with better service or products than the employer intended. An example would be if shop workers consistently under-charged and gave over-weight. Or if workers building working class flats put the best quality craftsmanship even into the most shoddy materials. Obviously there are numerous occasions when the good work strike is not a serious proposition, but it could certainly be used more often than it is. For instance if car workers took the company's hypocritical appeals for 'more quality' seriously, it would be interesting to see managerial reactions when they got more quality than they bargained for. One good side-effect of the good work strike is that it places the onus of stopping a service on the employer.

### LISBON TRANSPORT WORKERS 1968

'Lisbon bus and train workers gave free rides to all passengers today. They were protesting because the British-owned Lisbon Tramways Company had not raised their wages. Today conductors and tram drivers arrived at work as usual, but the conductors did not pick up their money satchels. On the whole the public seems to be on the side of these take-no-fare strikers and schoolboys are having the time of their lives. Holidays have begun, and they are hopping rides to pas the time.' (The Times, July 2, 1968)

There should be food for thought here for British Transport workers who have tended to be rather unimaginative in their forms of struggle. It could be argued that a refusal to collect fares could lead to a lock-out by the employers. Even if this happens the passengers would clearly see that it was management, not workers, who was depriving them of transport. And it would not even be possible to counter a refusal to collect fares by a lock-out if the workers acted suddenly, without notice, and for limited periods — and then repeated the treatment later on.

In New York City IWW restaurant workers, after losing a strike, won some of their demands by heeding the advice of IWW organisers to 'pile up the plates, give 'em double helpings' and figure bills on the lower side.

One might imagine similar situations in other industries, for instance postal workers behind a counter only accepting unstamped letters or petrol pump attendants dishing out free petrol, etc, etc.

## OPEN MOUTH

Sometimes telling people the simple truth about what goes on at work can put a lot of pressure on the boss. Consumer industries (restaurants, packing plants, hospitals and the like) are the most vulnerable. 'Open mouth' direct action is a very good weapon. There is not much that the boss can do about it other than improving conditions. There is nothing illegal about it, so the police cannot be called in. It also strikes at the fraudulent practices which business for profit is based on. Commerce today is funded on fraud. Capitalism's standards of honesty demands that the worker lies to everybody except the boss. An honest businessman is a myth, and an honest clerk couldn't sell the shoddy goods of the businessman. There is not a single area of commerce where honesty would not spell ruin under present conditions.

In the food industry the open mouth tactic is particularly effective. Its use will enlist broad public support: workers, instead of striking, or when on strike, can expose the way food is prepared for sale. In restaurants, cooks can tell what kinds of food they are expected to cook, how stale foods are treated so they can be served. Dishwashers can expose how 'well' dishes are washed.

Let construction workers make known the substitutions that are always made in construction materials, and the cheating on fire and safety regulations. Factory workers can tell of materials used in products that most people use. Workers on the railways and public transport systems can tell of faulty engines, brakes, and repairs. Those workers in the nuclear industry can open their mouths about radiation leaks that were covered up.

The persistent use of the 'open mouth', besides gaining demands, will do more to eliminate abuses than all the 'Health and Safety' regulations that will ever be passed.

## SICK IN

The sick-in is a way to strike without striking. The idea is to cripple your workforce by having all or most of the workforce call in sick on the same day or days. Unlike the formal walk-out, it can be used effectively by departments and work areas, instead of only by the entire workplace, and can often by used successfully without formal union organisation.

At a United States mental hospital, just the thought of a sick-in got results. A steward, talking to a supervisor about a fired union member, mentioned that there was a lot of flue going around, and would it not be too bad if there were not enough people to staff the wards. At the same time, completely by coincidence of course, dozens of people were calling the personnel office to see how much sick time they had. The supervisor got the message and the union member was reinstated.

At one major Chicago hospital, during a union organising drive, the night shift on one of the most pro-union wards came in to find that their schedules had all been changed without notice. The night shift replied by calling in sick — all of them — for three days in a row, forcing nursing supervisors who had not handled a bedpan for years to do honest work again. When the night shift came back, they found the supervisor only too glad to put the schedule back the way it was.

## DUAL POWER

Sometimes the way to get what you want is to take it. This requires better and stronger organisation than any other direct action method. It also works the best. When workers decide that they are going to do what they want to do, instead of what the employers want them to do, there is not a lot the bosses can do about it. This tactic has been used by syndicalists, particularly the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

IWW lumber workers in the Pacific Northwest of the USA used dual power to get the 8 hour day (they had been working 10 to 12 hours). A strike had been on since July 4th, and was not going well due to government harassment of picket lines and closing of halls and offices, when on September 7th the lumber workers voted to go back to work and simply take the 8 hour day themselves. This was decided in a series of meetings the strikers held in each district. As in all IWW strikes, the strikers made all the decisions in beginning running and ending the strike.

At each logging camp, workers would do 8 hours work, then stop. Since all but a very few loggers were in the union, and since the strike had driven up the price and demand for lumber, this 'strike on the job' (as it was called at the time) was effective). Camp after camp gave in to the 8 hour day, and bosses seldom risked further disruption by trying to cut back pay. In areas where camp bosses tried firing 'troublemakers', or even whole 'troublemaking' crews, the fired workers were replaced by others just as determined to get the 'troublesome' 8 hour day. Fired workers got jobs at other camps and continued ued to make 'trouble' for the 8 hours. On May 1st the lumber bosses gave in, and the 8 hour day became the rule in the camps where it had not already been won.

The IWW loggers celebrated by starting another dual power 'strike on the job' to remove another longstanding grievance. Workers in the lumber industry had to live in isolated camps built and maintained by the lumber companies. To save money for the companies workers were expected to provide their own bedding, usually a 'bindle' or blanket roll. The bosses provided only hard wooden double-deck bunks. Since there were no laundry facilities, the 'bindles' were always infected with insects. To make it clear that they would no longer put up with this, the lumber workers burnt their bindles, forcing the companies to either provide beds and bedding or have no workers. By a long series of such actions, IWW lumber workers won decent food, laundry rooms, showers, single beds with mattresses and bedding provided, and an end to overcrowding in the bunkhouses.

At around the same time, a strong IWW Marine Transport Workers Union existed on trans-Atlantic shipping out of the port of Boston. One of the main grievances of the workers on these ships was the quality of food served aboard ship. Acceptable menus were decided upon and published by the union. The cooks and stewards, being good union members, refused to cook anything except what was on the menus — to the satisfaction of everyone except the bosses.

## OCCUPATIONS & SIT INS

It is rather arbitrary to distinguish between occupations and sit-ins. The term are often used synonymously, it seems useful), however, to define sit-ins as being relatively restricted and passive in character, wheras occupation implies positive action actually to take over a place and to deny access to the management. The latter needs a high level of militancy and solidarity, as well as good rank-&-file organisation. There have been quite a lot of sit-ins in Britain over the years most of them of short duration.

Given the deteriorating condition of many tenants flats or houses, and if unemployed or on Benefits unable to rent strike, it is clearly a good tactic to sit-in over conditions at the landlord/Council's offices, or occupy/squat better and empty premises to live in while the old place is renovted or demolished.

Unity of purpose is essential for a successful sit-in. Its absence can lead to demoralisation and to discrediting the method. Potential opportunities may also sometimes be lost because of lack of imagination and the dead weight of traditional thinking. On April 13 and 14, 1971, for example, just after the 10 week major Ford dispute, an interesting situation developed in the paint shop of the Ford P.T.A. plant at Halewood. In response to the management laying off some workers, 200 track workers entered the offices on 2 successive nights. On the second night a full-scale sit-in and obstruction of the Administration only just failed to materialise because of the differences of opinion amongst the stewards.

The Detroit IWW employed the sit-in to good effect at the Hudson Motor Car Company from 1932 to 1934. 'Sit in and watch your pay go up' was the message that rolled down the assembly line on stickers on pieces of work. The steady practice of sthe sit in raised wages 100% in the middle of the '30's depression.

While there has been few large-scale sit-ins in Britain such as have been common in Italy and France this can be rectified. Occupations raise their own problems and are no cure-all, as it presupposes a high level of militancy and organisation on the part of the workers concerned. It is doomed if the place remains in isolation, in a sort of self-imposed ghetto. On the other hand, given the right conditions, it can be dynamite as it spreads confidence and involves others in the same company, industry neighbourhood. . .

A good example of the pitfalls of what should not be done was the abortive occupation at G.E.C., Liverpool, October 1969.

The fiasco was basically due to the failure of the Shop Stewards Committee to carry the workers with them. This in turn was due to a real lack of basic information amongst the rank-&-file as to the actual aims, objectives and methods of the planned occupation. There There was wide spread confusion as to whether it was to be a symbolic affair, lasting at most 3 days, or something more permanent and serious.

There were substantial and realistic misgivings about the viability of actually running a factory in isolation within the present system — even for 3 days. And there were suspicions that the Action Committee was trying to sell them a pig in a poke. Much of the opposition by workers was due to a lack of information and to justified doubts rather than any lack of militancy. The Company and its pawns were able to capitalise on these mistakes and drive a wedge between the mass of the workers and the Action Committee.

But more than just information was needed by the rank-&-file at G.E.C. What was needed was mass involvement. The workers should not just have been presented with a plan. The whole campaign should have been preceded by shop meetings, discussing the pros and cons, especially in the weaker shops and factories. There should have been many more leaflets, many more mass meetings, which should have been regarded as part of the process of planning. But most important workers should not only have dominated the planning and decision-taking, but should also have directly controlled the application of any decisions taken. This should have been made absolutely clear. If this had been done, the spectacle of a small group of company men breaking up and taking over a mass meeting could never have happened.

No Committee, however devoted, however honest and however militant can substitute itself for the activity of the rank-&-file.

## SABOTAGE

There exists today a labour market in which wage workers sell their labour to perform certain tasks asked of them by their bosses. The labour power of the workers is a comm commodity. In selling their energy, workers must sell themselves with it. In purchasing goods from a business, you get low quality for a low price. A worker, however, is supposed to be best quality no matter what the price is. But why shouldn't the same standard apply for workers as for bosses? For low pay and bad working conditions, inefficient work.

Some kinds of sabotage are illegal, and all are considered 'wrong' by many people. Even so, working class sabotage is used more often than you think. Although often used by frustrated individuals, it is most effective — like all direct action tactics — when all or most of the workers on a job are in on it.

In his book Strikes: A Study in Industrial Conflict, K. Knowles describes how workers used to fight the speed-up. He quotes: 'When it got over sixty, say, someone would accidentally drop a bolt in the line and as soon as it worked its way round to the end, bang, the line would stop. Then there would be a delay and everybody would take their break.'

This quotation could almost be about Ford's at Dagenham. At one time in the early sixties, on the firm's own admission, damage to the track was costing thousands of pounds per year. The same sort of thing goes on in every industry: neglecting to maintain or lubricate machinery at the correct intervals, punching buttons on complicated electronic gear in the wrong order, putting pieces in the wrong way, running machines at the wrong speeds or feeds, dropping foreign bodies in gear boxes, 'technological indiscipline': each industry and trade has its established practices, its own traditions. The problem is the same in America. The July issue (1970) of the business magazine Fortune, when describing the motor industry, said that 'in some plants worker discontent has reached such a degree that there has been overt sabotage. Screws have been left in brake drums, tool handles have been welded into fender compartments (to cause mysterious, unfindable and eternal rattles), paint scratched, and upholstery cut'.

Sabotage has even been used as a direct bargaining counter. A New York report in the Manchester Guardian (March 6, 1948) stated that theatre operators and projectionists had secured a new 2-year contract and a 15% rise in wages by an unofficial campaign which had startled audiences with films shown upside down, alarming noises from the sound machinery, mixed reels from other films, and films projected onto the ceiling instead of the screen.

## 'NORMAL' STRIKE

Even the traditional unofficial walk-out can be made much more effective than it normally is. The participation of the ordinary workers is often limited to attending the occasional mass meeting. They then stay at home, in isolation, watching the progress of 'their own' dispute on the T.V.

Apart from the question of mass involvement of all strikers in activities related to their strike, there is the question of the hardship involved through loss of pay. Italian workers have been leading the way in experimenting with techniques of increasing the cost-effectiveness of strike action. Italian unions have developed a whole new armoury of activities to minimise the cost of strikes to their members and maximise the disruptive effect. There is the chessboard strike, where every other department stops; the brushfire or articulated strike which, over a period, rolls through every key section of works; the pay-book strike, where every worker whose cards carry an odd number is in dispute on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, while the even numbers fight it out on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays; and the rather different variety of odd-even strike, where the blue-collar workers down tools in the morning but return after lunch, only to find that the white-collar workers and foremen are now out, making all work impossible — thus you achieve a full day's stoppage for only half a day's loss of pay.

Faced with such tactics, many big and famous Italian Companies have appalling times. For instance in 1971, Italsider, the Northern Italian steel group was crippled for months, Alfa Romeo produced 10,000 fewer cars than its planned programme and SIT-Siemens, the main telecommunications firm, employing over 15,000 people, lost a total of 4 million working hours.

## INFORMAL RESISTANCE

One of the greatest unsung stories of the industrial working class is that of resistance at the point of production. Work is usually not a pleasant occupation and therefore it is not surprising that many workers resent their work and working conditions. This informal resistance, which goes on even in formally unorganised shops and sites, is what makes the difference between potential and actual production. Much of what is called 'industrial sociology' is devoted to research into reducing this gap.

Informal resistance can be expressed in such methods as piecework ceilings, agreements among workers as to what constitutes a fair day's work, and in a simple refusal by workers — in a thousand small ways — to participate in their own exploitation. It is attempts by management to solve this which explains the steady and massive expansion of work-study, job evaluation, quality control, inspection etc. All of these would be totally unnecessary in the absence of resistance.

Management's second line of approach to solve this problem is to introduce 'workers participation'. In doing this they try to motivate their employees to identify with the interests of the company. In the long term all these measures will fail, as the basic problem, boring unpleasant and often dangerous work, will not be removed.

An example of this resistance was given in The Renault Story by Ken Weller. This described the experience at the small Renault assembly plant in London. In 1961 the management decided to close the factory down and to import completed cars from Belgium. But as they had a last batch of cars to complete before the closure they offered the workers a deal. The workers would receive the total wages they would have earned had they worked at normal speed (43 cars a day) even if the batch to be completed was finished faster. The workers held a shop meeting to discuss this. They decided that they had nothing to lose by finishing the job as soon as possible, and then having a holiday, as they would soon be out of a job. So they organised the job themselves. They increased productivity to 120 cars a day in spite of resistance by the management who felt that such an increase reflected on their ability to manage. This incident gives some idea of the scale and economic effect of resistance on the shop floor.

It has been estimated that the loss of production from such resistance is — in any given period — about equal to the volume of production itself. An example of how even unorganised workers made their feelings felt took place in 1952 at Price's Tailor's factory in Leeds. A worker was sacked by an uppity manager for allegedly sleeping on the job. The workers stopped work, forced the reinstatement of the sacked worker but failed to get the manager sacked. . . 'all the workers therefore booed him whenever he entered one of the workrooms'. As a result he kept out of sight and stayed in his well-heated office.

Resistance to production is not simply a Western phenomenon. Exactly the same process goes on in the 'Workers States' albeit necessarily more deeply underground for obvious reasons. Following the Soviets invasion of Czechoslavakia in 1968 there was widespread industrial unrest. On the first anniversary of the attack, the official Czech Communist Party newspaper 'Rude Pravo' spoke of a movement coldly calculated to achieve the disruption of the national economy. 'Daily we witness attempts at incitement, . . . a fall of working discipline, technological indiscipline, disintegration of the managerial system.'

### SUGGESTED FURTHER READING:

Sabotage A Study in Industrial Conflict by Geoff Brown. Spokesman Books 1977.
Processed World American magazine comes out quarterly Available from 121 Bookshop or A Distribution. Crowbar and your local Anarchist paper.

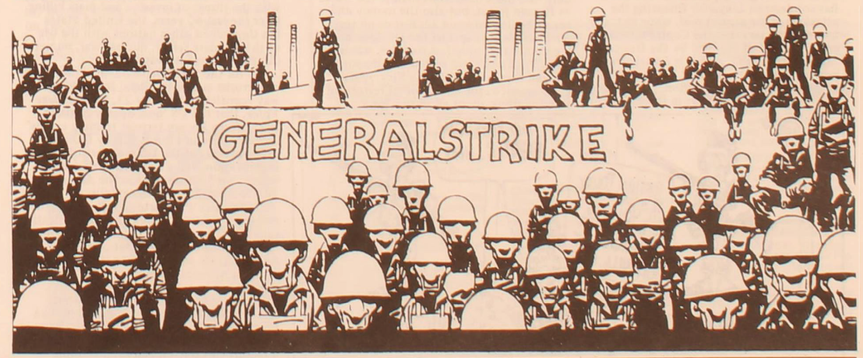
## DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT

**Aims and principles of the Direct Action Movement:**

1. **The Direct Action Movement is a working class organisation.**
2. **Our aim is the creation of a free and classless society.**
3. **We are fighting to abolish the state, capitalism and wage slavery in all their forms and replace them by self-managed production for need not profit.**
4. **In order to bring about the new social order, the workers must take over the means of production and distribution. We are the sworn enemies of those would who take over on behalf of the workers.**
5. **We believe that the only way for the working class to achieve this is for independent organisation in the workplace and community and federation with others in the same industry and locality, independent of, and opposed to all political parties and trade union bureaucracies. All such workers organisations must be controlled by workers themselves and must unite rather than divide the workers movement. Any and all delegates and representatives of such workers organisations must be subject to immediate recall by the workers.**
6. **We are opposed to all States and State institutions. The working class has no country. The class struggle is worldwide and recognises no artificial boundaries. The armies and police of all States do not exist to protect the workers of those States, they exist only as the repressive arm of the ruling class.**
7. **We oppose racism, sexism, militarism and all attitudes and institutions that stand in the way of equality and the right of all people everywhere to control their own lives and the invironment.**
8. **The Direct Action Movement is a federation of groups and individuals who believe in the principles of anarcho-syndicalism; a system where the workers alone control industry and the community without the dictates of politicians, bureaucrats, bosses and so-called experts.**

*DAM-IWA*
*c/o 223 Greenwood Road,*
*Wythenshawe, Manchester.*
*M22 7HB.*

The above article was taken from South London DAM-IWA's pamphlet - *Direct Action in Industry.*



# COMMENT

## MORE ON THE 'LIBERTARIAN' RIGHT

Dear Black Flag,

Your article 'What Is The Libertarian Right (24 Feb 1986) was more accurate than most attacks that have appeared in the socialist press. Nevertheless, I hope you will allow me the opportunity to both correct a number of factual errors and comments on your general interpretation.

1. The Adam Smith Club was not 'spawned by the Adam Smith Institute.'It was set up in 1974 by Sudha Shenoy, Dr Barry Bracewell-Milnes and Peter Clarke. I became its secretary in 1977. The Adam Smith Institute was founded in 1978.
2. The Adam Smith Institute is not, and never has been, 'based in Lord North Street'.
3. The David Hart who is a Thatcher advisor and who addressed the Adam Smith Club is not the same person as the David Hart (an Australian academic) whose MA thesis 'Gustave de Molinari and the Anti-Statist Liberal Tradition' appeared in the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. Neither was his talk to the Club on libertarian economics, as you state.
4. I became a trustee and steering committee member of ISOS in 1983, not 'recently' as you state.
5. Aims of Industry is not an 'intelligence gathering' organisation.
6. Since Martin Taylor, editor of *Dreadnought* is not a libertarian why did you include him in your article – unless it was to establish some spurious connection with someone alleged to have links with a fascist organisation.
7. Since Andrew K. Smith does not profess to be a libertarian (see our exchange of letters in *New Socialist*, Nov/Dec 1983 and Feb 1984) why mention him?

Your article is radically defective in lumping together a number of groups and individuals who differ in their respective views. Many of those mentioned are not libertarians, or are merely influenced to some degree by libertarianism. Most of the major libertarian activists and thinkers, and a number of important libertarian groups are not mentioned.

You misrepresent the libertarian position on trade unions. Historically, most classical liberals have actually been very much in favour of trade unions. Libertarians wish trade unions to have no more or no less liberty than any other individual or voluntary association. As a matter of fact, libertarians are not, as you falsely state, opposed to the closed shop – so long as they are arrived at without physical violence. A well publicised LA seminar dealt with this subject.

The really despicable aspect of your article, however, was your constant imputations of fascism. Libertarianism does not 'find favour with those who are within the fascist milieu'. Libertarians are opposed to all forms of coercive collectivism. Fascism and national socialism are anti-individualistic, anti-capitalist ideologies. Their adherents hate libertarianism as much as libertarians hate them.

In passing, it should be noted that your interpretation of fascism is defective. Its essence was not hostility to 'working class' organisation and trade unions. It sought the incorporation of these elements within the corporate state for the alleged good of the whole. It was supported by many 'working class' idealogues, especially those of a syndicalist bent. *(True, not ANARCHO-syndicalists though – typesetter)*

In reality fascism and national socialism suppress trade unions – precisely because trade unions are capitalist organisations. In this respect fascism and national socialism are identical with all other forms of actually existing socialism. A socialist order cannot tolerate such anarchic organisations.

Yours sincerely,
Chris R. Tame (Secretary)
Libertarian Alliance.

*Mr Tame does not deny the connection between Hart (of Miners Strike fame) and the Adam Smith Club; Toryism has re-invented 'libertarianism', just as the National Front are doing so (see below). Obviously we accept some of the other minor corrections – although not regarding Aims of Industry which has a similar function as the Economic League. We should add that we don't accept the Search-light vendetta against Chris Tame suggesting he is an under-cover fascist, in similar fabrications to that which they are making against Class War. But as Class War are partly responsible for the press fabrications made against them in that they allowed a member(s) to 'wind up' the media and invent fancy stories. (e.g. in* Time Out, *percolating to the rest of the media) – so too the Libertarian Alliance have themselves to blame.*

*They want to pose as being 'libertarians' (and even in some cases 'anarchists') and also to cast a protecting mantle over the 'libertarian' wing of the Conservative Party, whose only belief in liberty is the freedom to exploit. Gurus such as von Hayek are supported equally by Keith Joseph/Margaret Thatcher and the so-called 'libertarians' alike.*

*Chris Tame, in reply to the accusations we made, makes use of some anarchist arguments, but still succeeds in distorting libertarianism. The National Front tried this too. We refer here to an interview with leading NFer, Joe Pearce, that appeared in* Time Out, *and to a letter signed by a Mark Rodgers of the 'Libertarian Bookshop' (formerly the Alternative Bookshop, both of the same address as the 'Libertarian Alliance'), commenting on the interview. Rodgers stated: 'You* (Time Out) *rightly state that NF ideologues have stressed the socialism in their ideas and while they have sometimes called themselves anarchists (sic), this is the first time to my knowledge that the word 'Libertarian' has been used to describe their views. I refer to Joe Pearce's insistence that 'the NF is a libertarian organisation. . .'*

*Clearly, the NF are exploiting the dangerous distinctions already created by the LA, with Rodgers comments serving to compound that distortion even more.*

*The Libertarian Alliance is also dangerous because it is selling a line which would give the Thatcherite brand of fascism its blessing yet also gives aid and encouragement to the National Front with the idea that fascism is 'anti-capitalist'.*

*When Franco took people out and shot them, did he take them from the factories or from the banks? Did Mussolini imprison trade unionists – or businessmen? Chris Tame stands history on its head, hoping people will only remember that Hitler took action against businessmen and capitalists – but Jewish only. The majority of German businessmen and capitalists supported him hoping to profit out of the racial laws. Unionism of any kind was smashed, only 'incorporated' in the sense that the members were taken over. Some working class renegades – not ideologues' and not 'syndicalists' (except in the Continental use of the term as trade unionists) – backed Mussolini; almost none backed Hitler, nor Dollfuss, nor Franco, nor were invited to do so.*

*It is pure bunkum to say 'fascism and national socialism' are equivalent to State socialism. They are not anti-capitalist – though German Nazism, but not the British variety, was prepared to act against insubordinate or racially different capitalism. They are essentially aimed at fighting the working-class with the methods of State socialism. State socialism or communism elevates a mandarin class over the workers and therefore seeks to dominate working class organisation. Both are abhorrent to genuine Anarchists, but that is not to say they are exactly the same. The attempts by Chris Tame and his friends to use the slogans of libertarianism and even anarchism to cover up for monetarism and capitalism, which is within the ambiance of fascism, can only be described if we can find a secular equivalent for 'blasphemous'.*

## TERRORISM

*It was an inferno. They started throwing hand grenades and firing submachine guns. We all threw ourselves to the ground and blood spread over the floor. I fell on the body of a girl, and a grenade splinter hit me in the face.*
Dora Silvestri, after a terrorist attack on Rome airport on December 27, 1985 (**Terrorist Raid Kills 16; Israel Vows Revenge.** *Detroit Free Press* – 12/28/'85).

*My wife is dead. Her name was Concepcion Sanchez Alvaro. We have no children. We were going to have one. In other words, she was four months pregnant. They put a gun in her mouth and shot. They also used bayonets on her stomach not only her, but to others as well.*
Saul Robles Alvaro, after Nicaraguan Contras attacked the La Sorpres coffee farm on November 14, 1984, killing 16 people (**What We Have Seen and Heard: the Effects of the Contra War Against Nicaragua,** *edited by Yvonne Dilling).*

The above quotes are only a few examples of the many faces of 'terrorism', but what separates the two are how they are portrayed by the world's media. A media that has endlessly reported on the airport attacks in Rome, while the torture and slaughter of thousands of civilians by Nicaraguan Contra terrorists, goes unreported. A media that, without giving a shred of evidence, has condemned Libya for financing the attackers in the airport raid, while virtually ignoring the fact that the Contra terrorists are financed and supplied by the United States government. And it is exactly this portrayal of the 'facts' that has raised my hackles over the manipulation, fabrication and dissemination of news in the USA.

Since the December '85 airport attacks hardly a day has gone by when we haven't been inundated with reports and warnings of 'international terrorism'. From the front pages of local newspapers to the full-colour transmissions of nightly TV news, we've been told how *no* American is safe from the evil machinations of Libya's Col. Moammar Khadafy and his Palestinian 'henchmen' – men so desperate and blood thirsty, that it's only a matter of time before you or I are their next targets.

Even after the recent industrial accident that claimed the lives of seven astronauts aboard the shuttle *Challenger*, one NBC reporter questioned whether 'libyan terrorists' might have sabotaged the mission, and I'm wondering if Khadafy isn't the cause of my car not starting on cold mornings! But I smell a rat, with the trail leading through the media, into the State Department and directly to the President's office.

Without even an attempt at tackling the realities of US 'state sponsored terrorism', the media has accepted this governments' propaganda that Khadafy is not only 'the most dangerous man in the world' as Reagan put it, but also the money and brains behind any and all, real or illusory, terrorist assaults against the US. One may remember that only last summer, when TWA Flight 847 was seized in Lebanon, Reagan then pointed to the Nicaraguan government as the source of all terrorism! But lets think about all of this for a moment.




For arguments sake let us believe what the government and a complacent news media tell us about Khadafy and *his* terrorists, even though neither institution comes up with any verifiable evidence. But lets say he is an exporter of terrorism, does it really make him that much different from Ronald Reagan or the US government (any government for that matter)? Except for the fact that Khadafy is really just a small potato and could never finance *covert* (ie. terrorist) actions as large as those funded by the US., the answer is an emphatic NO!

As for Reagan calling him 'the most dangerous man in the world', well, at best it's hypocritical. While the airport attacks were certainly inhuman and barbaric, they can in no way compare with the horrific pain and loss of life among men, women and children, when an American warship indiscriminately shelled Lebanese mountain villages in 1983. Under the pretense of a 'peace-keeping mission', this recommissioned World War Two battleship, sitting a mile out to sea, saturated the villages with eleven two hundred plus pound shells per minute, from its sixteen inch guns.

While guerrillas can kill one person here or twenty there, nothing can match the 'kill ratio' of the United States military, and only power like that of the modern US state can terrorise any and all nations with the threat of invasion and mass killing. Over the last 40 years, the United States has threatened other nations with the use of the ultimate terror, nuclear war, numerous times to get its way.

As for the State Department's 'proof' of terrorist camps in Libya, James Ridgeway reported in the July 23, 1985 *Village Voice*, that the US 'now openly hosts at least fifteen known terroist training camps' including five in Florida run by Cuban exile veterans of the US sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion, and a camp in Alabama where two Sikh suspects in the Air-India 747 bombing learned their skills.

Then there's Roberto D'Aubuisson, the person in control of the Salvadorean death-squads and responsible for the torture and murder of thousands of that country's dissidents. He was trained in the late 1960s at a Pan-American police academy here in the US.

In fact many of the police torturers and death-squad murders in countries like Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Columbia, Uruguay Guatemala and Samoza's National Guard-now-turned-Contras, had their training under the same US programme. But you'll never see fron page headlines screaming: AMERICAN TRAINED TERRORISTS SPREAD FEAR THROUGH THE WORLD or ALLIES SPURN 'BARBARIAN' REAGAN.

And then of course, there's the case of Nicaragua.

The quote from Saul Robles Alvaro at the beginning of this article, is only one of a seemingly unlimited number of horror stories concerning the terrorist actions of the Reagan backed Contras. *The Nation* Magazine commented in its July 20/27 issue that although there are no known acts of terror perpetrated by the Nicaraguan government against the US.

*'The other side of the ledger is far from blank. . . not only has the United States organised, financed and equipped the Contras, but Central Intelligence Agency personnel mined the harbours of Nicaragua, a terrorist act if ever there was one. And discarded down some memory hole is last year's (1984) CIA published manual instructing the Contras on* **Selective Use of Violence for Propagandistic Effects** *and* **Implicit and Explicit Terror.'**

All of this is not to say that leaders like Khadafy aren't dangerous, they are, but then aren't all heads of State? Is it not true that all governments from Britain to Russia, South Africa, Uganda, China, the USA and on and on, use either internal or external terror to advantace their ideology and to defend their 'right' to rule? And let us not forget that so-civilised member of the US Atlantic alliance, 'socialist' France, whose government commission recently absolved it of responsibility in the terrorist bombing, by its secret service, of the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior*, in which one person was killed.

By putting on a uniform and fighting in the name of some nation state, doesn't make you any less a terrorist than a demoralised refugee shooting wildly in a crowded airport. In fact, the murderous acts of the airport terrorists flow themselves from a cycle of violence, initiated and perpetrated by the armed forces of the nation state.

And it must also be said that all of us are to some degree, responsible for this sordid state of world affairs. If we continue to accept the twisted 'facts' of the news media and the government's propaganda at face value, while silently giving our support to their violent rituals, then we shouldn't be so surprised when those victims of state terrorism, respond in kind and we get caught in the cross fire.

*Ben Franklin – Detroit, 1986.*



# INDUSTRIAL

## 'COOPERATIVE CAPITALISM' JAPANESE STYLE

**Matsushita is a private sector company which was one of the first to introduce quality control groups. At the plant, we talked to a woman who works in the radio department. She is twenty two, and has been working at Matsushita for 7 years.**

Work begins at eight o'clock. She joins her colleagues, who assemble around the representative of the 'han' (group). The day begins with the singing of the company hymn. After the employees pledge is pronounced, one of the workers gives a ten minute speech in front of the group. The purpose of the speech is to exhort and persuade fellow workers, and each worker chooses the theme of their own speech. Because a new speech is given each day, every worker has to say about one per month. Today's concerns the values of the company and Japanese society. . .

**THE MATSUSHITA QUALITY CONTROL GROUPS**

Each group doubles as a quality control group, set up to improve production and to resolve problems as they arise, the workers are asked to 'voluntarily' form quality control groups. At Matsushita, once a month the quality control groups meet after work. Because participation is 'voluntary', the workers are not paid. Once a month, a meeting of everyone in the factory is held at which the workers' suggestions are examined. Each worker is obliged to submit at least three suggestions per month. The suggestions are then graded from one to nine. If any suggestion is given an eight, you receive 1000 yen. If everyone in the group submits suggestions the group receives a prize of 1500 yen. We keep the money for an excursion, or for a banquet at the end of the year.

Not content with handing out cash prizes, Matsushita has also organised a suggestions movement. A representative of the suggestions committee is placed in each group to encourage its members to contribute suggestions.

These small groups are very efficient at promoting competition. To increase productivity, the groups are played off against each other and group members are manipulated and encouraged to feel that their group is superior to competing groups.

At the workplace, almost no role is played by the union. Citing the 'long term interests of the workers within the market economy' as a pretext, the union has never organised a strike. To each of our questions:
'Has the union ever helped you to resolve workplace diificulties?,
'Do you ever talk about union problems at work?
'Do you know of anyone who has received assistance from the union?'
the woman we interviewed responded:
'No. If I require assistance at work I ask the group's representative, not the union.'

Excerpt of a text by L'Union Internationale des Travailleurs de L'Alimentation. Translated from *Agora Libertaire* No. 31 by M.W.

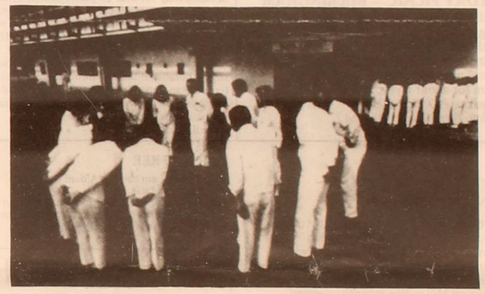
**THE MATSUSHITA PHILOSOPHY**

One of the characteristics of Matsushita is an insistence on 'spiritual values' rooted in a feudal moral outlook which forms the basis of the company school and the company's monthly journal ***PHP***, which is a monument to conservative ideology.

The following is the employees' pledge:
*Progress and development can only take place through the efforts and cooperation of every company member. Each of us should at all times remember to be committed to improving the company.*

These are the seven 'spiritual values' of the company:
1) Service to the nation through industry(1).
2) Loyalty.
3) Harmony and cooperation.
4) The struggle for improvement.
5) Courtesy and humility.
6) Adaption and assimilation.
7) Gratitude.

(1) During the military regime in the forties, this slogan was used by the Patriotic Industrial Association, which was modelled on the Nazi Arbeitsfront (Bosses, State & Unions united).



The workday begins with the company hymn.

### SOUTH SHIELDS

The strike at Contracts Ltd, South Shields, is now over. A vote of 54 to 12 on Wednesday March 19th, under pressure from union officials who, three weeks before, had withdrawn support from the strike, called for a return to work.

The workers marched back into their factory, on Monday 24th, in an organised return to work, knowing that their central demand – union recognition had not been conceded by management. The union officials consider this a fair settlement.

The workers have issued a call for continued financial support, as the agreement for returning gives management the right to lay off workers and implement a phased return over a three month period. The workers will continue meeting, and the Hardship Fund will remain open. On behalf of the strikers we express fraternal thanks for the support, in the form of picketting, leafletting and financial donations that DAM groups have given.

For more information see current copies of Direct Action, or send for a copy of ***The Syndicalist*** at c/o Days of Hope Bookshop, 62 Thornton St, Newcastle Upon Tyne. Send the letter care of Tyneside Revolutionary Syndicalists. Please enclose a stamp plus 20p.

Yours in solidarity,
*Newcastle DAM*

### MINERS ORGANISE

At Westoe Colliery in South Shields, the management are trying to introduce new working practices. They want to be able to pick and choose the Power Loaders for new coal faces. Under th

Under the present system, Power Loaders automatically move to the new face, when an old one is worked out. The management now wish to be able to transfer whom they like.

1,000 miners held talks over the weekend (4/5th April) and industrial action will take place if the new practices are implemented.

*SOURCE: Newcastle DAM-IWA*

### SHIPYARD WORK STOLEN

Bosses at the privatised Swan-Hunter shipyards launched the £100m HMS Coventry at 3.45am before dawn, on Tyneside, 8-4-'86 to beat a wildcat strike by 2,500 shipyard workers. While Mrs. Thatcher cheered the managemnt in the House of Commons, angry workers facing redundancy, marched through the town.

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

### BRUNO SANCHEZ GETS FORTEEN MONTHS

**Having refused to be conscripted into the army, Bruno Sanchez, a member of the Bayonne anarchist journal** *Emancipation* **collective, appeared in Court in Versailles on February 27, 1986, charged with 'refusing to obey an order'.**

The incident took place when Bruno was forcibly taken to an armory in the region of Yucsline, where he was undoubtedly brought in order to distance himself from friends and supporters in Bayonne as well as to place him within the jurisdiction of the Versailles court, which has a reputation for the harshness of sentences meted out.

He had previously been sentenced in absentia to a six month term with no option for parole by the Dijon court, a sentence apparently unsatisfactory to the military. . . The Versailles judge, a paranoid individual ruffled by the scope of Bruno and his lawyer Mme de Felice's arguments, limited himself to his capacity to sentence, but in this was unsparing in his efforts. The verdict: an additional eight months with no parole option as requested by the crown attorney. The latter idiot put on a marginally less stupid performance than the judge which is not saying much!

At this point, whether Bruno will appeal his sentence isn't clear. His address is:
*Bruno Sanchez,*
*Maison d'Arret de Bois d'Arcy,*
*5-10 rue Alexandre Turpaut,*
*78390 Bois d'Arcy, FRANCE.*
Further details about his situation can be obtained by phoning
*FRANCE (16.1) 43.03.62.03.*

*Coordination de Soutien aux Refractaires,*
*c/o CLO, B.P. 103,*
*75522 Paris Cedex 11 FRANCE*

Translated from *Le Monde Libertaire* by M.W.

### ALAIN SOUCHE

Alain Souche (see *Black Flag No. 151)* is an anarchist militant whose trial for refusing conscription into the army took place on February 28, 1986 in Lyon. His sentence four months with the possibility of parole, is relatively light for conscription cases.

*SOURCE: Le Monde Libertaire*

### LETTER FROM CHRISTIAN FRIGOULT

*Dear Black Flag,*

Friends in Rennes passed your letter onto me and, having finally been released, I'm finally in a position to reply. I hope this letter isn't delayed.

My situation is as follows. . . On 21st December, 1985, the army transferred me to a military hospital near Paris following my hunger strike & I came out of hospital on December 28. I'm still waiting for a court date after refusing military service a second time on January 14, 1986. I hope everything will be over soon and I can get back to normal life in peace.

All the best,
*Christian Frigoult.*



Christian Frigoult

### Quote of the month

*'There are people who think that everything in this world is an accident. But really there is no such thing as an accident. A great many folk admit that many of the people in jail ought to be there, and many who are outside ought to be in. I think none of them ought to be there. There ought to be no jails; and if it were not for the fact that the people on the outside are so grasping and heartless in their dealings with the people on the inside, there would be no such institution as jails. . . They do not accomplish what they pretend to accomplish. They terrorise nobody. They are a blot upon any civilisation, and a jail is an evidence of the lack of charity of the people on the outside who make the jails and fill them with the victims of their greed.'*

Clarence Darrow.

## RELEASE THE JAILED MINERS

**DURHAM**

**WILLIAM BELL:** Murton – 18 months youth custody from December 1985.

**GARY BLACKMORE:** Murton – Two years youth custody from December 1985.

**JOHN HEMINGWAY:** One year and three months sentence from December 1985.

**ANTHONY HOWE:** Murton – Two years youth custody from December 1985.

**ROBERT HOWE:** Murton – One year and nine months sentence from December 1985.

**JOHN ROBINSON:** Murton – 18 months sentence from December 1985.

**JOHN ROBSON:** Murton – One year and three months sentence from December 1985.

**ANTHONY RUTHERFORD:** Murton – 18 months sentence from December 1985.

**NORTHUMBERLAND**

**WILLIAM SMITH:** Whittle – 2½ year sentence from February 1985. E44975 Durham Prison, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HU.

**YORKSHIRE**

**NIGEL HODGSON:** Three-year sentence from November 1985.

**MARTIN HODGSON:** Three-year sentence from November 1985.

**CLIVE THOMPSON:** Frickley – Three-year sentence from April 1985. G79348, Acklington Prison, Morpeth, Northumberland, NE65 9XF.

**PAUL WRIGHT:** Saville – 18 month sentence. G78424, Kirkham Prison, Freckleton Road, Preston, Lancs.

**NORTH DERBYSHIRE**

**PAUL BROTHWELL:** 12-month sentence.

**DAVID GAUNT:** Shirebrook – 2½ year sentence from December 1984. E71037, A Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Doddington Road, Wellingborough.

**KENT**

**TERRY FRENCH:** Betteshanger – Four year sentence from January 1985. B73383, Weald Wing, Maidstone Prison, Kent.

**CHRIS TAZEY:** Betteshanger – Three year sentence from January 1985. A29398 Youth Detention Centre, Springfield Road, Chelmsford.

**SOUTH WALES**

**DEAN HANCOCK:** Oakdale Eight year sentence. Gartree Prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicester.

**RUSSELL SHANKLAND:** Tatt Merthyr – Eight-year sentence Gartree Prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicester.